Can the Arms Race Be Halted? *Ralph E. Lapp*

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — November 15, 1969, 40 cents

Agnew's Mission

John Osborne

Wilson's Sound Pound *Anthony Howard*
Sex on Film *Stanley Kauffmann*
News about News *Reed Whittemore*
Criminal Society? *Herbert L. Packer*

COMMENT — Nixon's Non-Plan, What the Court Said, Lindsay & Others, The Unsilent Opposition

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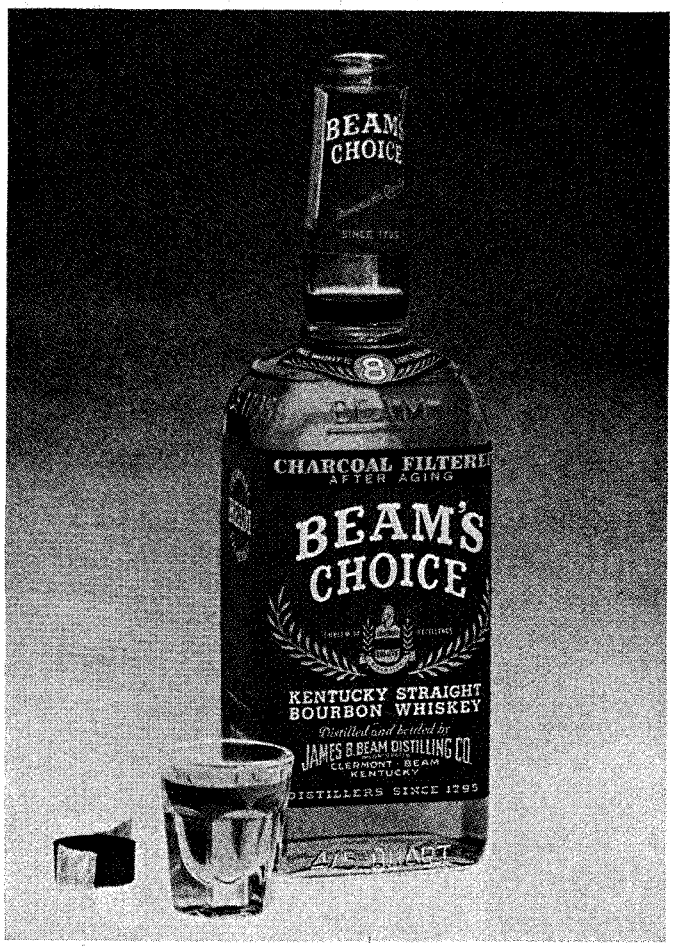

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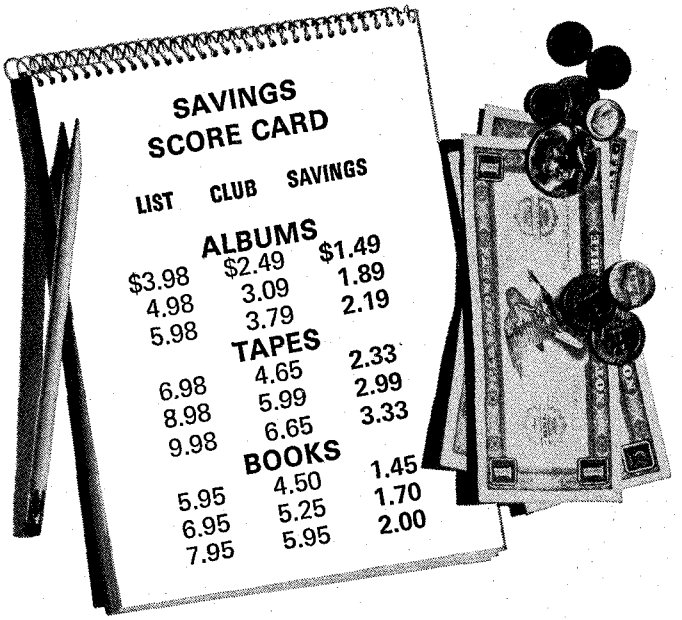

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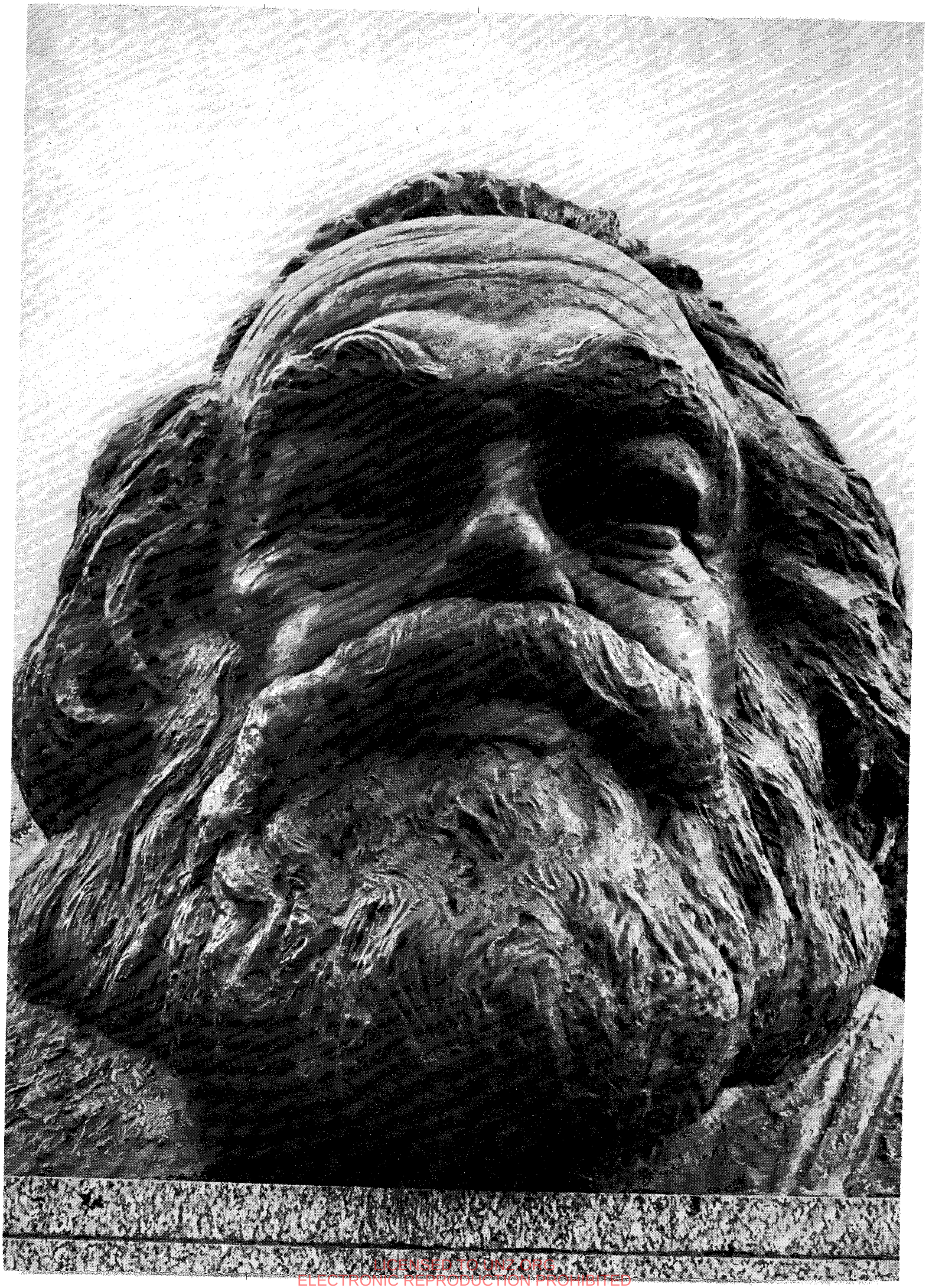

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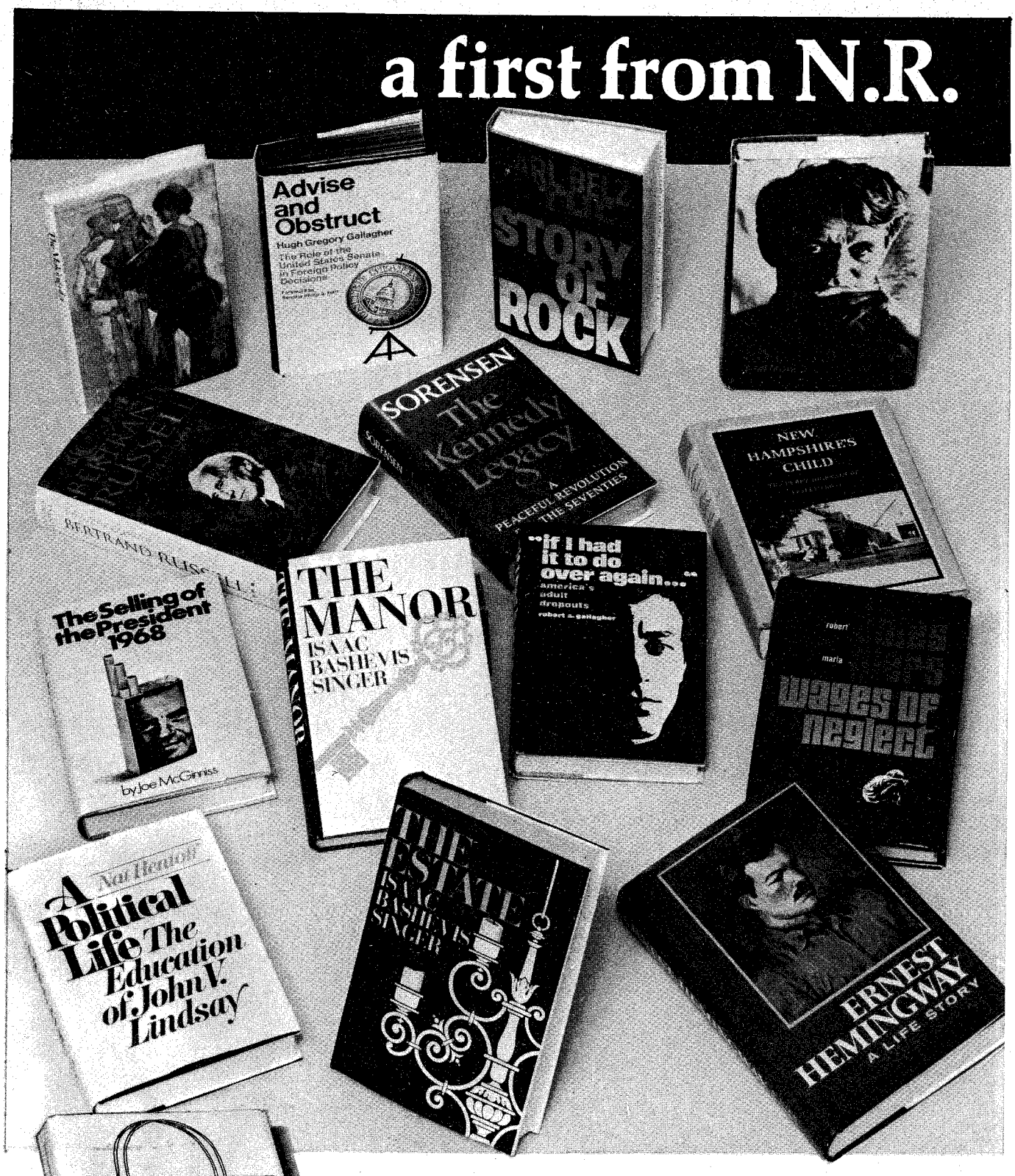

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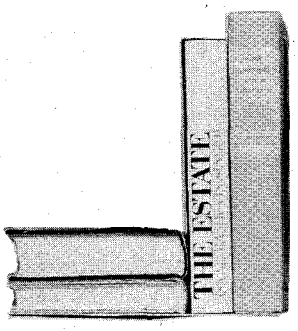

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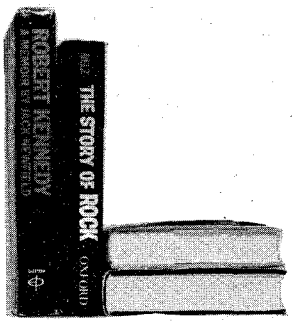

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The Bowie Knife

Mr. Nixon's chin slowly moistens as he speaks from the Oval Room in the White House. He talks quickly and fervently. You note the cleft in his nose and the shadows under his eyes. You feel some sympathy for him. He is frighteningly earnest. The "great silent majority" is for fighting on, he says, and yet, if he had ended the war at once, "this would have been a popular and easy course." Isn't that inconsistent somehow? But never mind – skip it! He wipes his upper lip with the knuckles of his right hand in a gesture that wins compassion. Some people, he says, disagree with him on Vietnam, but they are honest and patriotic citizens. Well, that's generous. Of course such dissent, such division, only means the war lasts longer. He is humble. "I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny," he says. But he is courageous enough to be patriotic. He sternly warns Hanoi. "This is not a threat," he threatens. He fluffs "Woodrow Wilson," but – so what? Could you speak half as well? Next day Gallup finds that 77 percent approved the speech.

It happens that TRB is deeply concerned about the Nixon Administration but not, curiously enough, over Vietnam. Some liberals will disagree, no doubt, but we think Mr. Nixon is boxed in on Vietnam. That great silent majority of his, we think, wants two different and probably contradictory things: it wants to save face . . . and it wants out. Oh, how it wants out. We can't prove it, of course, but our hunch is that Mr Nixon has got the word, as his preliminary troop withdrawals indicate. It used to be the thin magazines of the Left that demanded departure. Yet now here's *LOOK*, fat with advertising, carrying an article by Bob Moskin, its foreign editor – "Vietnam: Get out Now." He returns from Vietnam "with a sense of hopelessness," a feeling of "personal despair." Politically and militarily, he says, after all these years, Vietnamese still can't "take care of themselves." The US should quit the experiment and leave – now. The *LOOK* editors agree.

Our sense of values may be distorted but we are more concerned (for the minute anyway) by two other developments. First of all, there can be no possible doubt any longer that Mr. Nixon has authorized Spiro Agnew to go out and inflame the nation. High White House staff members quietly admit it, or proclaim it. The "lower-our-voices" motto is bunk. Agnew was pretty funny as a foot-in-his mouth figure; Agnew as Mr. Nixon's alternate voice is not funny at all.

Gene McCarthy said the other day that Agnew is trying to be Nixon's Nixon. It recalled old times. Mr. Nixon was the hatchetman for Ike and that wasn't so bad because the General knew little of politics, and wanted to play golf. But Mr. Nixon is different. First, because he does know the political score and, second, because Agnew recalls the Nixon past which everybody tries to forget.

We read the Agnew speech at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Oct. 30, and it was one of the worst we ever encountered. This was no campaign utterance in the final throes; this came as the jittery nation tried to unwind a war and needed every bit of unity and self-control it could muster: "Arrogant, reckless, inexperienced . . . destroying the fabric of American democracy . . . political hustlers . . . self-righteous, guilty of history's worst atrocities . . . glib, activist element . . .duplicity . . . avowed anarchists and communists . . . sick and rancid . . . vultures . . . merchants of hate . . . parasites of passion . . . Judas goats . . . home grown menace."

This is the man the President picked to succeed him if he dies in office. We turned back curiously to what Mr. Nixon himself said in past campaigns. What was his standard of values? Adlai Stevenson – a "Ph.D. from the Acheson college of Cowardly Communist Containment"; Truman's Administration – the "four-headed monster that was Korea, Communism, corruption and controls." Also – "When the Eisenhower Administration came to Washington on January 20, 1953, we found in the files a blueprint for socializing America." And – "The Eisenhower Administration has kicked out the Communists and fellow travelers and security risks not by the hundreds but by the thousands."

Well, it is easier to snicker and say, "Poor old Ted Agnew will never come up to *that!*" But unleashing Agnew shows a weakness, a defensiveness, a kind of hysteria, right in the Administration. We want to believe that Mr. Nixon has put aside his old nastiness, but how can we when he turns his bowie knife over to his second-in-command?

There is a second point that fits into this, in a way. Anxiety grows here that angry elements in the Administration and angry elements in this week's big war protest are sparring for position to spring at each other's throat. A few days ago the Eisenhower Commission on Violence published an absorbing staff report that might have been labeled, "How to prevent bloodshed at mass demonstrations" but was titled, "A Tale of Two Cities" – Chicago and Washington. Why did the crowd riot at the Chicago Convention last year, and why didn't it in Washington in the Counter-Inaugural demonstration of January, 1969? The two crowds had about the same leadership, the same type of youths, and the same size?

Well, says the Report, in Washington there wasn't any hysterical advance alarm (that frightened off the stable elements), there was differentiation between radicals and moderates, there was early agreement on permits and the right to march, and there was cooperation and sympathy by authorities. In Chicago the lid blew; in Washington it was a safety valve.

Some militants coming to Washington are hoping for trouble. Some always are. But they need a Mayor Daley. What worries us is the way the Commission's advice is being ignored – permits, marching privileges, planning. Attorney General Mitchell's Justice Department has taken over and he is uttering veiled but grim warnings. If they want a showdown, he seems to say, this is the time for it. Some officials would probably not mind a confrontation; they believe it is time for a parental government to crack down. A riot, some believe, would help the troubled Administration.

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The Unsilent Opposition

No antiwar movement in this century has gone so far as the one this year. Yet after 10 months of a new Administration, nearly a half million American troops remain in Vietnam, the fighting goes on, and the President serves notice that it will continue until "the enemy" fades away. What's to be done? Those who want most earnestly to pry the US loose are divided over how best to go about it. Opinions differ, for instance, on whether to support the moderate Moratorium demonstrations on November 13 and 14, or the more militant Mobilization March on Washington the following day. The editors of this journal support both.

The tentative, groping spirit behind the Moratorium reflects an awakening for many heretofore unpolitical Americans. They have been troubled by Vietnam and the militarization of our national life; they are more and more aware of how powerless they are. Because their convictions are engaged, they cannot be silent. Because they believe the American political system is basically good, responsive to pressures for change, they cannot be revolutionaries. And because civility seems to them a virtue, they find the Moratorium style congenial. The point not to be lost, however, in discussing the relative merits of the Moratorium or the New Mobilization, is that most Americans want the war to end; the potential exists for a wide consensus. Mr. Nixon can count his telegrams and point to rising support for his policy in Gallup Polls taken after the October 15 marches and vigils, and after his November 3 address. But such percentages are shifting and transitory. What is constant is the growing determination to have done with Vietnam. That fact is hitting home to every politician; none can entirely escape its force.

The very cohesion of American society is at stake. To state this is not to subtly threaten violence. Those who preach or practice violence in this country are nihilists and fools. Government has an uncontestable superiority on that field; and as between violent disruption and order, the American people will support the latter. Yet moral authority as well as physical force undergirds order in the US. And moral authority lives off the assent and respect not only of a transient numerical majority, but an overwhelming majority; guns, tear gas, clubs cannot command it. Mr. Nixon should be weighing carefully how he will govern, if a very large number of articu-

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late, active people are convinced that their leaders haven't the will or the skill to move us off our present disaster course.

It is an ominous sign that the President would gamble on tricky plays from his past. One such gamble is that the center, that "silent majority," can always be rallied against the specter of a Communist menace. It is risky because a lot of history has happened since 1952; for every militant leftist who wants the US out of Vietnam, there are thousands of others who cannot be so labeled; and even conservatives know that the needle is wearing through on that record. The President's other gamble is that extremism on November 15, or the fear of it, will frighten respectable citizens away from speaking out. That too is risky, and for the same reason: opposition is too general to be scattered by appeals to fear, or to generational prejudice, to say nothing of garden variety Red-baiting.

Predictions for November 15 are not all blue skies. The Mobilization's public position – immediate withdrawal of all US troops – is one that many find simple-witted. Those who do ought not to feel hesitant about saying so; the campaign for disengagement badly needs the application of intelligence to its cause. To our way of thinking, the resolution of Senator Goodell of New York is a more sensible response. Goodell would set a final pullout deadline of December, 1970, thereby giving the Saigon government adequate notice of American intentions, and allowing sufficient time for an orderly, phased withdrawal of troops.

Simply as a show of massive resistance to the war, however, the Mobilization deserves support. It will doubtless attract exhibitionists, Weathermen, Crazies. And since the Administration has decided to play tough, practically inviting confrontation (the Attorney General speaks of "hardcore militants whose sole interest is the destruction of this country"), the presence of police provocateurs cannot be ruled out. One can share the anxiety of those who think that further scenes of violence, well-covered by television and the press, will produce a tragic setback. Yet it would be equally tragic at this stage to surrender the streets to a handful of irresponsibles.

One way to restrain the violent-prone on November 15 is to recruit marshals and marchers from the swelling ranks of those moderates who oppose both the war and domestic violence. The sponsors of the Mobilization include people who were marching against war long before Vietnam protest became fashionable; they saw the danger and pointed the way; they and younger recruits can be counted on, if summoned, to show restraint and to police the parades. The Mobilization – if it keeps order in its own ranks – *can* keep the heat on the President and Congress. If it fails in self-discipline, it will succeed only in turning the heat on the peace movement.

Nixon's Non-Plan

Once upon a time, a case could be made for the view of Senator Aiken and Senator Mansfield and others, that the critics of Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy should go slow. Only he, they reminded us, could extricate us from the jungles; sound psychology counseled a deference to his pride and position; it would be unwise, they thought, to drive him into a corner. Had he not, moreover, already begun to pull back, and would not his own political interests pull him further in the same direction? On November 3, the President demolished that case. Those who forebear to bluntly criticize now choose to follow a leader who is himself lost, having neither a clear view of his destination nor a timetable for getting wherever it is he thinks he may be going.

The President's TV address was better than those of his predecessor in one way: it was not a bit of bullying arrogance. But as an exhibition of misrepresentation, it was comparable. Mr. Nixon first misrepresents his critics, identifying them with a demonstrator he saw who carried a sign reading, "Lose in Vietnam, Bring the Boys Home." He misrepresents them by claiming they all demand "precipitous withdrawal." He misrepresents the commitment made by the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, which fell far short of a massive US military presence in Vietnam. He misrepresents the central issue of the war by defining it as the right of self-determination – misrepresents it because American-style one-man, one-vote is not crucial, perhaps not even relevant, to Vietnamese society; misrepresents it because even if it were, it would not be worth the price of $30 billion a year and hundreds of thousands of casualties; misrepresents it because it is the US military itself which is the determining element in the governing of South Vietnam.

We are asked to believe, in addition, that 15 years ago, North Vietnam with the logistical support of China and Russia launched a campaign to impose a Communist government in Saigon by instigating and supporting a revolution. That was 1954, the year of the Geneva Agreements. The future then forecast for Vietnam, however, was reunification through elections to be held in 1956. They were not held, because the US threw its support to Ngo Dinh Diem, who refused elections and proceeded to crush all internal political opposition, Communist or not. The Vietcong did not persuade even Hanoi, far less Peking and Moscow, to assist them in their fight against Diem until about 1959. By 1965, the South had obviously lost the war with the Vietcong, who by then did have Hanoi's, Moscow's and Peking's support. And it was then that Lyndon Johnson decided on large-scale intervention.

All the discredited or unproved assumptions of the past are brought to life by the President. He assures us that things are going so well with pacification and

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the strengthening of the South Vietnamese army that American troops, some of them, can be withdrawn, sometime. Lest this embolden "the enemy," he hints that should Hanoi again raise the bidding, Mr. Nixon will see them, by hotting up the war once more – a classic example of a deterrent that lacks credibility.

What if pacification is undone or is shown up as chimerical, and what if the South Vietnamese army again falters in combat – neither of which is unknown? Here is the hollow center of the President's "peace" plan: American withdrawal is conditional on what Hanoi and Saigon decide; it is not to be an American decision. Not just the rate of withdrawal, but withdrawal, is geared to imponderables beyond our control. Handed those easy terms, why should Thieu ever let American troops leave?

Conscious no doubt that even his "silent majority" won't stand for the fetters being riveted back onto American freedom of action – and that he himself had pledged to strike them off – Mr. Nixon clumsily added another element to his speech that was meant to allay such objections. But in a thoroughly disgraceful manner. For he carried us way back to a former President's recommendation that we allow Asians to fight Asians. Vietnamization of the war, as Mr. Nixon uses that phrase, is an ignoble doctrine of killing by proxy. The Vietnamese are to supply the bodies, while we supply the guns, the money and lots of advice. Hanoi would be hard to negotiate with on those terms, but why should Thieu, when Mr. Nixon has already offered him the better deal of a virtual veto on American troop withdrawal? Nor, it must be added, is the doctrine of letting Asians kill off Asians while we hold the coats an "honorable" way out, if this is a war – as Mr. Nixon and Mr. Johnson have claimed – that is vital to the security of the United States.

Lindsay and Others

Observers with extrasensory perception might see some pattern in the elections of November 4. Some did see a swing toward "the middle." If that happened, the middle is a mixed up thing, and is getting awfully crowded.

Begin with Virginia. It picked a moderate Republican for governor (the first in 83 years) – who had AFL-CIO endorsement. But for lieutenant governor and attorney general, Virginians chose Democrats. New Jersey, sick of long, Democratic misrule, turned down a retread governor, Robert Meyner, in favor of a reasonably liberal Republican, William Cahill, who ran so well he brought a majority of Republicans into the state legislature. New Jersey labor was split wide open. Buffalo said no to a black militant mayoralty candidate *and* a right wing fire-eater, and yes to a more sober type. Pittsburgh's new mayor is a maverick Democrat who broke with the machine. Cleveland reelected its black Democratic mayor, Carl Stokes, by a majority of around 4000 in a clean and quietly fought campaign. Stokes won two years ago by only 1600 votes; the big issue this time was not race, but crime on the streets: no one was for it. In Detroit, where one-third of the registered voters are black, the UAW-supported black candidate for mayor was defeated, though he got 90 percent of the black vote. The winner was the sheriff of Wayne County, Roman Gribbs, who had aggressive backing from the city's police officers and detectives and conservatives in general. But the Detroit newspapers call him a "moderate"; he ran under the slogan "Order and Justice under the Law." Unlike Cleveland, Detroit's election reflected a racial polarization that has kept the city on edge since the riots of '67.

New York City, however, won first prize for irregularity. It gave Republican John Lindsay, rejected in the primaries by his party and then embraced by the Liberal party, a substantial victory. At the same time it elected Sanford Garelik president of the city council; Mr. Garelik ran on the Republican-Liberal ticket, though he is a Democrat. Then it selected Abraham Beame, the Democratic candidate, as comptroller. Lindsay's victory may have been big enough to gain several city council seats for candidates running only on the Liberal ticket, something new for New York.

Lindsay mined the anti-Vietnam war sentiment, made up with the Jews, and was smiled upon by Lady Luck when Golda Meir showed up in town and the Mets won the World Series. He probably could not have done it without the help of his Democratic opponent, Mario Procaccino. Mr. Procaccino projected himself as the humble little immigrant shoemaker who pulled himself up by his own bootstraps until he reached, finally, the presidency of a college called Verrazzano in the New York Catskills – *except* that Anthony Prisendorf, an enterprising *New York Post* reporter, revealed that Verrazzano College consisted of no more than a pillar from Penn Station standing in lonely splendor on an empty hillside in Woodridge, New York. Procaccino, it seemed, was not a pillar of education but president of a pillar!

Prisendorf further revealed that Procaccino had managed to wangle a free vacation trip to Israel, Greece and Italy two years ago, apparently paid for by Bar-Ilan University in Israel on the basis that the Verrazzano president would be arranging for exchange students between his college and Bar-Ilan. The only trouble was, Procaccino neglected to tell the president of Bar-Ilan that Verrazzano College had *no* students to exchange. It also emerged that the foreign trip was really paid for by four brokers doing business with Procaccino's comptroller's office. The brokers made

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their contribution to Bar-Ilan for the trip.

In the Bronx, in Manhattan's Lower East Side and in Queens and Brooklyn, Procaccino was supported by the worst elements of the Democratic Party: the "fixers" and persons with obligations to the Mafia. Perhaps Procaccino was surrounded by unhappy coincidences. But, as the city's most respected Democrats like Mrs. Herbert Lehman, Arthur Goldberg and a host of Democratic reformers streamed to endorse Lindsay, his chances faded fast.

Starting as an almost sure loser, Lindsay conducted a brilliant campaign (all winning campaigns are by definition brilliant). There was a two-way busing system: disaffected Jews from the hinterlands of Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens were brought into Manhattan by the carload to teas at Gracie Mansion (the Mayor's home); college kids, attracted by the Mayor's antiwar stand were, in turn, bused out of Manhattan to the outer boroughs to canvass. The campaigning youngsters had exactly the same effect on many of their elders that they had last spring and summer in the McCarthy campaign. How nice, thought the oldsters, to see these children doing something constructive. For every Jewish school teacher who would never forgive the Mayor "for giving in to the black militants" during the school strikes, there was at least one to whom the war was a more current danger. More importantly, perhaps, the blacks didn't riot during the summer, whether it was because the Mayor's Urban Task Forces had reached sensitively and deeply into the ghettoes, or because it was the rainiest summer within recent memory. Whatever the reason, the Mayor got the credit, just as he was blamed for a record-breaking snowstorm last winter.

What the Court Said

School desegregation decrees, these days, don't simply call for the admission of a few black children to white schools. They require the visible disestablishment of dual school systems, which may mean residential zoning, some busing, the closing of some formerly all-Negro schools, and the integration of faculties. In districts where Negroes form a majority of the school population, disestablishment of a dual system must result in whites attending some schools that are predominantly black.

As a gesture to its Southern constituency, the Administration sought in Mississippi to put the day of reckoning off for a few months. At the request of the Administration, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit agreed to a short postponement. But the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, as counsel for Negro children who were also parties in the case, appealed to the Supreme Court, and there on October 29, the Administration lost. In a brief, crisp unanimous order, the Court said that decrees calling for disestablishment of dual school systems in Mississippi must go into effect at once. If there are any problems that school districts still wish to litigate about, any modifications they want to ask for, they can do it after the decrees have been put into effect, and while they are being obeyed. The court of appeals erred in granting any postponement at all, said the Supreme Court, "because continued operation of segregated schools under a standard of allowing 'all deliberate speed' for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible."

The press played it big – and as something new. A leader of the NAACP in Louisiana exulted: "Deliberate speed is dead, dead, dead." It has, in truth, been moribund for some time, and as dead as it can ever be at least since last spring, when the Warren Court held that freedom-of-choice plans and other expedients that resulted in mere tokenism would not do any longer. All that was involved in the Mississippi case, as Chief Justice Burger remarked at the argument, was 60 days. After the Supreme Court had acted, A. F. Summer, the attorney general of Mississippi, said: "Whether we do it now or next year [that is, in the winter] is of little consequence." So the official demise of the "deliberate speed" doctrine comes as something of an anti-climax.

But the Supreme Court's decision – like the Little Rock case of 12 years ago – has symbolic importance. People were saying, reports Kenneth Dean of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations "that Nixon and Agnew were going to turn things around." Now these people know, Dean goes on, "that justice does not change with Administrations."

On the practical level, the policy of no more delay – not even 60 days – has to be enforced elsewhere than in Mississippi by further litigation. "Deliberate speed" as a fact rather than a deliberate policy always inhered in the nature of the process of desegregation by judicial decree. This it continues to do. And the Nixon Administration proposes to litigate more, and make less use of HEW's power to produce desegregation through the threat of cutting off federal school funds. But the Supreme Court's decision of October 29, while it could do nothing to avoid the necessity for time-consuming litigation, does insist on as much speed as possible, and does cut off the possibility that school districts will be granted delays and modifications by sympathetic district judges after Negro plaintiffs have obtained a final decree from a court of appeals. Decrees are to be complied with, said the Supreme Court, while objections, if any, are argued before district judges, and no modification (or delay) can be made, even if ordered by a district judge, except with the express approval of the court of appeals.

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Harold Wilson's Sound Pound

London

The five parliamentary by-elections held at the end of last month at least had the merit of restoring some sense of reality to British politics. After the 10.5 percent average swing against the government that they revealed, all recent claims of a dramatic recovery in Labour's fortunes look like little more than a pollster's mirage. In the past few days, Harold Wilson has found himself being sharply reminded that if he were rash enough to go to the country at the present time, he would be lucky to come back to Westminster with anything less than a 200 Conservative majority against him. His party would not be so much defeated as decimated.

Of course – given Labour's track record at special elections held since 1966 – the mere fact that this time round the party managed to cling onto four out of five seats it was defending has in some quarters been treated as a cause for relief. So used has Mr. Wilson's government become to adversity that anything short of total disaster is in some danger of being regarded as a mighty deliverance. But what the latest mini-election unquestionably demonstrated was that nothing in the British political situation has fundamentally changed. However successful Mr. Wilson may have been in casting his spell over the commentators and the pundits – particularly in making them believe that the political initiative is again his – the general public is still firmly in a "show me" mood.

It is not surprising. The great weakness in all the talk of a sudden revival in Labour's fortunes was always its strictly abstract, theoretical basis. Improved export figures, balance-of-payments surpluses, even the standing of the pound sterling on the world's money markets are all phenomena at some distance removed from the world of the ordinary voter. He remains, one suspects, far more likely to respond to sixpence off the income tax than to £50 million on the right side of the monthly trade figures. And Labour's message has remained relentlessly that it would be the height of irresponsible folly for it to ease up on any austerity measures yet.

When the Labour Party came to office five years ago it never intended to get involved in this particular battle at all. It is the whirligig of time that has seen to it that the party that rode to power on a cry of "social justice" should now be trying to justify itself solely in terms of "economic stability." All the sacred causes of Labour's past – even so cardinal a test of socialist faith as a refusal to countenance charges under Britain's proud National Health Service – have been sacrificed to the need for the country (in the Prime Minister's own phrase) "to pay its way in the world."

Mr. Wilson and his colleagues – it is fair to say – have come nearer to achieving that than any other postwar British government. Even given the heavy burden of international debt, Britain at the end of this financial year should be showing something like a £500 million surplus on its balance-of-payments account. That is no mean achievement for a country that was running an £800 million deficit when Labour came to power in 1964.

But Labour's problem is how to translate strict (if successful) household management into any kind of electoral rallying cry. The Prime Minister's answer is simple. It is to cast the Tories in the role of the party that never believed Britain could make it, the party that sold the country short, the party that greeted news of any economic setback with a popping of champagne corks. No one who has listened to the Prime Minister recently is left in any doubt that he firmly believes that in this theme he has found the tactical gambit which will bring him his third electoral victory.

It is an unorthodox political line for a Labour Prime Minister to develop. In British politics it is the Conservatives who have up till now been the party of the Union Jack: even to some Labour supporters there is something faintly disquieting about a Labour government choosing to make its appeal purely in terms of the most basic kind of Boy Scout patriotism. They would be happier in their minds if the Prime Minister spent more time dwelling on the social arrears that still need to be dealt with in Britain and less on boasting of his government's achievements in enabling the nation to hold its head high in the world.

Yet, for all the grumbling of the constituency activists, things from now on are going to be run Mr. Wilson's way. After his two great humiliations during the summer – the twin failures over House of Lords reform and legal control over unofficial strikes – the Prime Minister is back riding high at least in his own party. He owes his preeminence among his own colleagues partly to his own talents: on the floor of the House of Commons, in a television studio, even nowadays on a public platform (where he used to be weak) he is the most all-round accomplished performer in British public life. But underpinning his position and strengthening his hand there is another factor. In a parliamentary system national candidates are not just weighed against each other for the period of an election campaign: the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are there day by day before the eyes of the public as rival gladiators in the arena. It is Mr. Wilson's good fortune to have built up in the popular mind the impression that somehow he belongs in an entirely different league from his rival, the Conservative leader, Edward Heath. So long as he can maintain that notion of an effortless personal suprem-

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acy the Prime Minister will remain armor-plated against any attempts to dislodge him from within his own party. For a good many Labour hopes are undoubtedly pinned to the theory that ultimately – when the election finally comes – Mr. Wilson will suddenly seem to the country not just (in a famous phrase) "the best Prime Minister we've got" but really the only Prime Minister the nation has available. Only if that theory is publicly disproved at the polls will Harold Wilson need to worry – but then he will have to worry very hard. In that context the latest evidence of the unchanged voters' mood must have caused even so resilient a politician a twinge or two of personal anxiety.

Anthony Howard

Can the Strategic Arms Race Be Halted?

SALT

by Ralph E. Lapp

When the representatives of the two great nuclear powers get settled down to the Strategic Arms Limitations (SALT) talks at Helsinki, a third party will menace the chances of agreement. That third party is the tyrannical technology of weapons symbolized by ABM for antiballistic missile, and MIRV for multiple, independently targeted, reentry vehicle.

ABM and MIRV intrude upon the discussions because they are the most sophisticated developments in strategic weapons. MIRV is of the most concern because it multiples a nation's offensive warhead capability while at the same time concealing the degree of multiplication. Camera-carrying satellites have an exquisite ability to perceive such installations as missile silos, but they cannot see beneath the silo cover.

If MIRV technology is advanced to the point where a nation has the confidence to deploy multiple warheads in a single silo, then the lack of satisfactory inspection systems will defeat any hope of agreement on limiting the number of such strategic missiles on each side. It has been precisely this fear that has prompted a number of senators to call for a MIRV test ban.

A MIRV test ban could make sense to US military leaders if (a) the United States can be confident of detecting any illicit MIRV tests and (b) the moratorium blocks Soviet missile-warhead development to the point where the Soviets would not deploy MIRVed missiles. For their part, Soviet leaders would have to receive similar reassurances about US testing and deployment. But even if both sides were forthright enough to make full disclosures – highly unlikely in view of the sensitive nature of the technology – there would remain the ulcerous issue of doubt. Negotiators will have to keep in mind that they have to report back to their authorities, and in the case of the United States they must reckon with the problem of convincing legislators. Any SALT treaty will have to be ratified by the US Senate and past experience, especially with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, shows that there would be tough sledding for any agreement that did not provide adequate inspection assurances.

So far as intelligence about Soviet MIRV tests is concerned, our Defense Department demonstrated that it places confidence in its surveillance techniques when it disclosed data on the Soviet SS-9 intercontinental ballistic missile during the course of the Safeguard ABM Senate hearings. Defense officials were able to attribute to the SS-9 missile a capability to throw three warheads in a triangular pattern of such accuracy as to compromise the integrity of the US Minuteman ICBM silos in the North Central states. In private press briefings, high Pentagon officials assured newsmen that the characteristics of Soviet missile reentry and splashdown were observed so that accuracy could be assessed for the missile warheads.

The Pentagon has frequently twisted intelligence data like putty, shaping it to conform to the needs of the moment. Now that the Safeguard program has been approved and a MIRV moratorium is being considered, the putty is reworked to fit a different mold. Now we hear from the same high-level sources in the Pentagon that the Soviets may evade our missile surveillance systems. It is alleged that the Soviets can alter their ballistic trajectories so that the reentry zones are within their territorial borders and less reliably monitored by US surveillance. The situation on relia-

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bility of test detection in the MIRV case parallels that of underground test detection of nuclear explosions. The latter could be confused because of inability of the instruments to distinguish nuclear from natural seismic events; as a result the Test Ban had to be limited to exclude underground tests that did not produce radioactive contamination outside territorial limits.

Missile experts agree that MIRV tests have to be truly ballistic; this means that there is no substitute for an atmospheric test. The Pentagon's objection that this might be concealed might be met if each side agreed to advance registration of *all* missile launches. An announcement of launch would allow alerting of the detection system and increase the chances for spotting a violation of a MIRV test ban.

But are the Soviets already too far advanced in MIRV testing for a moratorium to be meaningful? Defense Secretary Laird based his case for the vulnerability of the Minuteman force to a first strike, on the multiple warhead capability of the Soviet SS-9 missile. We must assume that defense officials feel confident that US strategic missiles can be fitted with reliable MIRVs, and that they credit the Soviets with equal proficiency. The Soviets asking themselves about the state of the MIRV art in the United States need only consult recently published hearings of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees. The following items are pertinent to the MIRV status of Minuteman III and Poseidon, the land and ocean based strategic missile systems of our strike forces.

► "The first Poseidon flight test vehicle was successfully flown from Cape Kennedy on August 16, 1968." *Asst. Navy Secretary Robert A. Frosch.*

► "The Poseidon conversion is already in progress with the first Poseidon SSBN scheduled to deploy in (deleted) 1971."

"The fiscal year 1970 budget request includes funds for the conversion of six SSBNs to follow the four already authorized and funded." *Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of US Naval Operations.*

► The deployment schedule for Poseidon submarines was given by *Rear Adm. Levering Smith, director of the strategic systems project of the Naval Material Command* in classified testimony. Appropriate numbers have been supplied to fill security deletions in his testimony:

Fiscal Year	68	2	Poseidon conversions
" "	69	2	" "
" "	70	6	" "
" "	71	7	" "
" "	72	6	" "
" "	73	5	" "
" "	74	3	" "
		31	Total Conversions

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The Navy's commitment to conversion of its Polaris-carrying submarines to a Poseidon capability reflects a high degree of confidence in the progress achieved during 15 months of tests. Corresponding testimony is available to support US Air Force confidence in its Minuteman III strategic missile system.

Even if continued MIRV testing is actually essential to the deployment of Minuteman III and Poseidon, how could Soviet SALT negotiators really be sure that further tests were of critical importance? Furthermore, it is unlikely that both sides would come to a quick agreement on a MIRV test ban. As the SALT negotiations proceed they would in time be overtaken by continued MIRV tests. It would therefore be of great value if each side would pledge a "cease-fire" on MIRV tests, pending the outcome of the SALT talks.

If no agreement can be reached on a MIRV test ban, then hope for any agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, meaning missiles of intercontinental range, will be difficult to sustain. As pointed out earlier, while it is possible to orbitally inspect for a deployment of missiles, camera intelligence cannot penetrate below the silo cover. The inspection problem is well defined by a question put to Secretary Laird by Senator Edward W. Brooke:

Sen. Brooke: Do you believe there is any credible wedge, short of an on-site inspection, which will probably not be accepted by either side, to assure the concerned powers that MIRVs have not been deployed?

Secretary Laird: There is no way that you can ever be sure without on-site inspection.

Thus verification through inspection becomes the key issue at the Helsinki talks. The problem is more worrisome for our negotiating team, because the land-based missile systems are dissimilar in their first-strike potential. If the situation were more symmetric, that is, if each side had deployed missiles of comparable throw-power, it might be feasible to make the unit of negotiated fire power simply "one missile." But the Soviet SS-9 is a heavyweight ICBM that can throw 3 warheads each in the 3 to 5 megaton range, depending on their trajectories. Minuteman III mounts a triple MIRV but each warhead is only about four percent as powerful as its SS-9 counterpart. The Minuteman III has little growth potential to accommodate more MIRVs, whereas the SS-9 could carry as many as 20 separate warheads of Minuteman III power.

The Pentagon's paranoid fears about the first-strike potential of the Soviet SS-9 were so fully displayed during the course of the ABM debate that any arms controls imposed on strategic weapons will have to be strong enough to overpower the die-hard opposition of such senators as Thurmond, Goldwater and Tower. Only provisions for on-site – indeed, for *continuous* on-site – inspection could measure up to such

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standards. There appears to be no reason to believe that on-site inspection is in the offing.

Given the political and technical realities of the problem of limiting strategic arms, it would seem that the SALT talks are confronted with insurmountable barriers to agreement. Unless the Soviets are prepared to make concessions undreamed of in Washington, then one wonders, "Why Helsinki?"

It's possible that the Soviets may seek to press their presumed missile advantage, now that they have mighty SS-9s and near equality in numbers of land-based missiles, by seeking an agreement on the status quo or on phased cutbacks in ICBM deployments. This kind of agreement, so coveted in days when one missile meant one warhead, would confront the United States with a bitter choice. Either it could accept the agreement and run the risks of MIRV multiplying Soviet fire-power to a higher level than that of US ICBMs, together with the risks of having the Senate fail to ratify the SALT treaty, or it could reject the proposal and hand a propaganda advantage to the Soviets.

However, it is also possible that the Soviets or some significant faction in the USSR genuinely want some strategic agreement with the United States. Americans who have attended conferences with the Soviets recently report that this is the signal that they have received. But the Soviet signals are not specific as to what they want – resembling the overture made on March 12 of this year in *Izvestia*. "The Soviet Union offers to open talks on the curtailment and reduction of nuclear weapons, both offensive and defensive," wrote the prominent commentator V. Matveyev. "Steps that may be taken in the disarmament field should not place any state or group of states in an unfavorable position with regard to other states. The correlation of forces now reached makes it possible to conclude an agreement on freezing and reducing nuclear armaments."

In a *Foreign Affairs* article this spring, Dr. Harold Brown, former Air Force Secretary and a member of the SALT negotiating team, used more restrictive language to define an acceptable agreement. He wrote: "An agreement to limit strategic forces would have to continue to preserve mutual deterrence. It would have to provide for force structures that would make it impractical for either side to approach a first-strike capability, either by altering forces covered by the agreement or by increasing forces not so covered."

It is clear that prime emphasis on the part of the US SALT men will be placed on the issue of first-strike capability. It was precisely this issue that was used by President Nixon and Secretary Laird in revamping the Sentinel ABM system to form the Safeguard ABM defense of Minuteman bases.

If the US Minuteman system is so vulnerable that it necessitates the building of a protective ABM system, our planners might consider scrapping the 1000 Minuteman silos and placing reliance on ocean-based strategic missiles. Admittedly this is a suggestion of an extreme character, although it seemed eminently reasonable to me when I first advanced it almost ten years ago. If each side would abandon its silo sites, then fear of a first strike could be reduced since the submarine-based system cannot be ICBM-targeted.

I argued against deployment of land-based ICBMs not only because of their lightning rod relation to a first strike, but because they draw fire to the US continent. An attack on missile silos involves a very heavy strike that inevitably produces intense fallout over large areas; this in turn envelops huge populations and thus precipitates general nuclear war.

The military-industrial-political complex will not take kindly, however, to the notion that our Air Force should abandon its thousand Minuteman missiles and cancel contracts for the production of MIRVs for Minuteman III. Yet such a move would eliminate the technical obstacle to arms control formed by MIRV. The advent of the multiple warhead destabilizes the arms race, because it introduces a big unknown into the measurement of firepower. The key to a rational arms control plan must be some common unit of firepower, otherwise no basis for arms equilibration exists.

I would propose a shift to ocean-based systems, specifically, submarines, because MIRV technology does not have the same perturbing effect on firepower as it does for land-based missiles. It is true, of course, that Poseidon can throw up to 14 warheads with a single booster, but both the Soviet Union and the United States make submarine structures of roughly the same size. If we regard a Poseidon as a three-stage missile in which the first stage is the submarine itself, then the physical dimensions of the underseas platform tend to define the warhead throw capacity. For example, both nations' subs have 16 missile lockers arranged in a double line, the length of which is restricted by the submarine's hull. The height of each missile is determined by the vertical dimensions of the submarine. Therefore the size difference that exists between the SS-9 and the Minuteman does not hold for submarine-based missiles. In other words, *the unit of firepower may be taken as one submarine.*

The inability of the SALT men to reach formal agreement on limiting strategic offensive weapons might lead the negotiators to concentrate on defensive systems where MIRV does not have a destabilizing influence on technology. Antiballistic missiles mount a single warhead, thus allowing an accurate orbital inventory of ABM firepower. The most that could be hoped for in ABM arms control would be for the Soviets to decommission the Galosh ring around Moscow in exchange for a US agreement not to proceed with deployment of Spartans and Sprints in Montana

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and North Dakota. This would be an asymmetric *quid pro quo*, since Galosh missiles already deployed to protect people would be exchanged for Spartans and Sprints yet to be deployed to defend ICBM bases.

An agreement on ABMs would have been more feasible if the US had retained the missile deployment plan of the Sentinel system rather than that of Safeguard. Since symmetry of the weapons systems subject to arms control is so fundamental in reaching an agreement, one would have thought that Gerard C. Smith, director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, would have pointed this out in his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee this spring.

All in all, the MIRV technology and the ABM deployments appear very hostile to success at the SALT table. Perhaps the most that will come of these talks is a somewhat better comprehension of the dynamics of the arms race. Senator Brooke summed up the situation this spring when he told his fellow senators: "It is now clear that the great powers will either devise ways of limiting the growth of nuclear arsenals or they will plunge ahead into a costly and dangerous competition in strategic weapons with unforeseeable consequences for the peace and the stability of the world."

He's the Only Vice President We've Got

Spiro Agnew's Mission

by John Osborne

Mr. Nixon's chief assistants heard an interesting report from Omaha on October 27. The occasion was their daily staff meeting, the reporter was James Keogh, and his subject was Vice President Spiro T. Agnew. Keogh, a former Omaha newspaperman and *Time* editor who heads up the stable of Nixon writers, had been back to Omaha for a dinner in his honor and he had been exposed to a lot of talk from a lot of people about the Vice President. "It astonished me, the strength of the pro-Agnew thing," Keogh said in summarizing what he had told his White House associates. "I sensed the feeling of people who felt that the Vice President was saying what they would like to say." One of the remarks that Keogh quoted, a reference to Agnew's ancestry, made the White House rounds and may be supposed to have reached the President. It was that "Spiro Agnew is the noblest Greek of them all."

Harry Dent, Senator Strom Thurmond's gift to the White House staff and the President's political coordinator, brought similar tidings from California. At a state Republican dinner in Sacramento, and at party meetings elsewhere, the loudest and longest applause was for any mention of the Vice President. Dent concluded, and reported when he returned, that Agnew was saying the kind of things Republicans wanted to hear and felt that they hadn't been hearing often and clearly enough to suit them from the Nixon Administration. Dent's special task during the 1968 campaign had been to lure Southern Democrats away from George C. Wallace and deliver them to Nixon, and he judged during his California trip that Agnew was well on his way toward performing a similar service on a national scale in 1970 and 1972.

Letters and telegrams addressed to Agnew from around the country supported this conclusion. They had been coming in at the modest rate of 1500 per week. The week's count on October 31 showed 4395 applauding and 1251 criticizing his recent line of talk. Most of them were in response to a speech that he had delivered in New Orleans on Sunday night, October 19, and the sentence that elicited most of the response was as follows: "A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals." He also said: "We seem to be approaching an age of the gross. Persuasion . . . is too often discarded for disruptive demonstrations. . . . Those who claim to speak for the young . . . overwhelm themselves with drugs and artificial stimulants. . . . Life is visceral rather than intellectual, and the most visceral practitioners of life are those who characterize themselves as intellectuals. . . . Education is being redefined . . . to suit the ideas of the uneducated. . . . The lessons of the past are ignored and obliterated in a contemporary antagonism known as the generation gap." Then he made his central point: "The recent Vietnam Moratorium is a reflection of the confusion that exists in America today." It was outrageous, he implied, that "thousands of well-motivated

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Snobs and Rotten Apples

It is time to stop dignifying the immature actions of arrogant, reckless, inexperienced elements within our society. The reason is compelling. It is simply that their tantrums are insidiously destroying the fabric of American democracy. By accepting unbridled protest as a way of life, we have tacitly suggested that the great issues of our times are best decided by posturing and shouting matches in the streets. America today is drifting toward Plato's classic definition of a degenerating democracy – a democracy that permits the voice of the mob to dominate the affairs of government. . . .

Think about it. Small bands of students are allowed to shut down great universities. Small groups of dissidents are allowed to shout down political candidates. Small cadres of professional protestors are allowed to jeopardize the peace efforts of the President of the United States. It is time to question the credentials of their leaders. And, if in questioning we disturb a few people, I say it is time for them to be disturbed. If, in challenging, we polarize the American people, I say it is time for a positive polarization. . . .

We have among us a glib, activist element who would tell us our values are lies, and I call them impudent. Because anyone who impugns a legacy of liberty and dignity that reaches back to Moses, is impudent. I call them snobs for most of them disdain to mingle with the masses who work for a living. They mock the common man's pride in his work, his family and his country. It has also been said that I called them intellectuals. I did not. I said that they characterized themselves as intellectuals. No true intellectual, no truly knowledgeable person, would so despise democratic institutions.

America cannot afford to write off a whole generation for the decadent thinking of a few. America cannot afford to divide over their demagoguery – or to be deceived by their duplicity – or to let their license destroy liberty. We can, however, afford to separate them from our society – with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel. . . .

It is time to stop demonstrating in the streets and start doing something constructive about our institutions. America must recognize the dangers of constant carnival. Americans must reckon with irresponsible leadership and reckless words. The mature and sensitive people of this country must realize that their freedom of protest is being exploited by avowed anarchists and communists who detest everything about this country and want to destroy it.

—Address by the Vice President at the Pennsylvania Republican dinner in Harrisburg, October 30, 1969.

young people" had been led to participate in "a massive public outpouring of sentiment against the foreign policy of the President of the United States," and worse that those who so misled the young had "refused to disassociate themselves from the objectives enunciated by the enemy in Hanoi." Still worse was to come in mid-November, promoted by "the hardcore dissidents and the professional anarchists within the so-called 'peace movement' – wilder, more violent, and equally barren of constructive result."

The reference to "impudent snobs" dominated the Monday morning news accounts, and the first reaction at the White House was informative. The President's writers, who have occasionally reviewed and touched up Agnew speeches, put it about that they had had nothing to do with this one. Other Nixon assistants encountered that day were heard to moan that Spiro had said the right thing in the wrong way. The usual curtain hid Nixon's reaction: it was said for him only that the Vice President was and always had been "free to speak for himself." The Nixon people were not at all sorry that the furor over the New Orleans speech diverted attention from one that Agnew made in Jackson, Miss., on the Monday night. There he told 2400 Mississippians who had paid $100 a plate to hear him that, "for too long the South has been the punching bag for those who characterize themselves as liberal intellectuals." He said that "these leaders on the New Left" are "taking control of the national Democratic Party" and associated them with "the group that believes in marching down the streets of America to protest the war in Vietnam to our President."

It was a full week and more before the tone of White House comment changed. When it did, the change was something to sense and observe. Keogh's report from Nebraska, Dent's from California, and the gradual rise in the flow of applauding letters and telegrams convinced the Nixon people that Agnew was suddenly an asset instead of the liability that many of them had thought him to be. The note of condescension that hitherto had marked the most respectful references to him vanished. Instead of apologies for his naivete, his insensitivity to the nuances of national and Washington politics, there was word from quarters as close as you can get to the President without entering his oval Office that the Vice President "had the green light." It was said on equally good authority that Agnew was speaking for and to "Middle America" – to those "forgotten Americans" who had previously been wooed and supposedly won by Nixon himself and who, it was now suspected, had been disappointed in their hopes that the President would speak to them as Agnew was talking to them for him.

Was Agnew in fact speaking for Nixon, upon the President's authority? Of course he was, but the question persisted and was allowed to play a part in heightening press and national awareness of and interest in

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the Vice President. On the night of his return from New Orleans and Jackson, Agnew met and talked with the President at a White House dinner and said afterward that his speeches and the response to them were not mentioned. The same word went out after a meeting the next week with the President and the Republican Congressional leadership. It was not until the morning of October 30, at a party reception in the White House Mansion, that Nixon tired of the game and went out of his way to say that his Vice President was "doing a great job for the Administration." Agnew by then had written and rewritten, with minimal drafting help from his own staff, the summation and ultimate statement of his appeal to Middle America that is quoted at length on page 18.

It had all been planned, though probably with incomplete anticipation of the response. Back in the summer, Nixon remarked to Herbert Klein, his Director of Communications, that it would be a good thing if the Vice President took a more active part than he had been playing in national politics and told Klein to publicize the increased activity. Stanley Blair, Agnew's principal assistant, presided in early September over several staff discussions of the stance that the Vice President should take. The consensus was that he should somehow try to distinguish the nation's dissidents – the unkempt young, the antiwar demonstrators, the campus rebels – from the mainstream of American opinion. And why not, while he was about it, identify them with "the liberal intellectuals" and identify that breed of gentry in turn with the leadership of the "national Democratic Party"? Nobody in Agnew's service says explicitly that this was the recommended and chosen line, but it is acknowledged that the line he began to take in early October emerged from the September discussions.

At Richmond on October 2, Agnew said that "a clever liberal politician" invented the notion that Nixon had "a Southern strategy" and that "liberal pundits throughout the country leaped to exploit the catchy phrase." The "liberal wing" of "the national Democratic Party" was leading it "on a runaway course to the Left." The strategy of "these new elements" was to say that America was a racist, imperialistic, warmongering nation committed to an evil war in Vietnam; to say, too, that "those who work and succeed within the traditional framework of this free nation should be ashamed of themselves, and that a good way to show regret for having been so awkward as to be successful is to support every malingerer and misfit who raises his voice in indignation." Some Virginia Democrats thought at the time that this was a poor way to capture Democratic votes for Linwood Holton, the Republican candidate for Governor, but Holton won last week and his victory contributed to the belief that the Vice President is on a productive track. In Dallas, after avowing Nixon's dedication to the highest possible oil depletion allowance, Agnew paid his respects to "a minority of pushy youngsters and middle-aged malcontents" who think they know how "to run the world." At Montpelier, Vt., he denounced the "strident few in our society who have conferred upon themselves a position of moral superiority" and are trying to turn the country into "a spiritual theater of the absurd."

Among the few names that illuminate Agnew's depiction of the "liberal wing" are those of Senators J. William Fulbright and Edmund Muskie. Agnew said that Fulbright was guilty of "absolute, irresponsible nonsense" when he suggested (according to Agnew) that the President send a representative to the funeral of Ho Chi Minh. Muskie figured in a bizarre episode, the week after Agnew spoke in New Orleans, that gives a fair idea of how the Vice President functions in his more serious assays at public policy.

Agnew had resented the preoccupation of the national press and television with his reference in New Orleans to "impudent snobs" and the consequent failure to report the bulk of the speech, which in the main was a standard defense of the Administration's military and domestic policies. He had dealt, among other things, with the lack of Soviet response to the American invitation to arms limitation talks and had said that "we would be playing Russian roulette with US security" if the President suspended development of multi-headed nuclear missiles. When he read after his return to Washington that Senator Muskie had renewed his drive for such a suspension, Agnew called in his press spokesman, Herbert Thompson, and said with some heat, "This is exactly the kind of thing I was talking about in New Orleans." He instructed Thompson to dig out the New Orleans text, draft from it a statement denouncing Muskie, and send the statement forthwith to the Senate press galleries. Thompson did, and Agnew was in the news with a charge that Muskie, in "a classic example of confused thinking," was asking the President "to play Russian roulette with US security." The statement noted again that "there has been no Soviet response" to the invitation to discuss arms limitation. That was on a Wednesday. On the previous Monday, it was announced later, Ambassador Dobrynin had notified the President of the Soviet Union's readiness to open preliminary arms talks in Helsinki this month. The Vice President had not, in this instance, been in the state of cordial communication and coordination with the President that they are said to maintain.

The fact is that Nixon and Agnew have remarkably little direct communication with each other. On things that matter, such as "the subtle dangers" posed to the nation by impudent snobs and liberals "who characterize themselves as intellectuals," the President and the Vice President don't need much direct communication. They understand each other perfectly.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Futz
(Commonwealth United)

Duet For Cannibals
(Grove Press)

Coming Apart
(Kaleidoscope)

Three first films, each of them dealing with an unusual kind of sexual activity.

Futz was made by Tom O'Horgan and was performed by the members of the LaMama Troupe for whom O'Horgan directed the original play in their Off-Off-Broadway theater. In a few ways this film resembles Peter Brook's film of *Marat/Sade*: it uses the same cast as the original production, and the same director tries to re-create in cinema a complicated theatrical concept.

The play by Rochelle Owens – to get right to the heart of the matter – is about copulation with a pig; Cy Futz, a lonely old farmer, is in love with his sow. Two other lives are affected by this "affair." A local farm girl, whom Futz induces to share an orgy with him and the sow, is so upset by the experience that, although she has hardly been a vestal, she becomes a wild rutter, and her brother eventually kills Futz in revenge. A loony named Oscar catches sight of Futz and the sow one night, gets so excited that he murders his girl, and eventually is hanged.

Synopsized thus, *Futz* sounds like a belated fungus from the sub-cellar of twenties and thirties rural naturalism. But Miss Owens is after something quite different from psychotic case histories. She has written her play in a condensed, almost telegraphic, obliquely figurative speech, almost like the intense bursts in the writings of the visionary mentally-disturbed. (I mean that as an orphic reference, not a derogation.) For instance, Futz says of his neighbors:

> *They*, mean folks hate my face. I turn around the corners and make fun on their asses, no tickle does theirs feel like my own good one as I sing tears in the sow's belly. With their fried eggs for wives, they know no song.

There is a narrator (in the published play) almost always present, a one-man chorus introducing and commenting on the short, tightly structured journey from start to finish.

Miss Owens is not, I think, making any idealistic plea for the freedom of the individual against the mob, which hounds and kills him; this Ibsenite theme would be silly in such a parable. She has taken a very low common denominator of life – human and/or animal – and with it has tried to shake us into elemental sensual reawakening – spurts of amoral pleasure, the smell of one's own feet (as in Joyce), the child-like abandon in the mud. *Futz* is not a clarion call for a return to the sty, but its language and method invite us to a little black mass of pathos and disgust and cruelty which – with a bow to Artaud – hopes to investigate some things that were true about men before they became men.

The central dynamics of the play – pig-screwing – dooms it in two ways: to some basic ludicrousness, no matter how well Miss Owens handles her materials, and some air of sensation, no matter how sober she is. But I have seen the play and read it and now have seen the film, and although it remains for me more of a gifted curiosity than a fulfilled artwork, I think it has some success in two ways: it does sometimes touch the secrets hidden in our chromosomes; and it does catch some of the ugliness of poor farmers, brutalized, lonely whether they are married or not, and driven into subhuman analogies through their very side-by-side daily labor with animals.

O'Horgan's stage production invaded the play, rather than interpreting it. He made the narrator into a chorus, using subsidiary characters of the story. He split open many moments – in fact, almost every moment – for improvisation by the actors and himself, whether germane or not. He altered the line of scenes to include ideas suggested by the scene. (Sometimes – mistakenly, I think – this is called "playing the subtext.") The result was a series of variations on the script, more than a performance of it; and, like all fantasias, it had little more to depend on than invention. In Coleridge's terms, O'Horgan works much more with fancy than with imagination, with "a mode of Memory emancipated from the order of time and space" rather than with "a prime agent of all human Perception."

It may be a pretty foolish exercise, I admit, to dispute the production of a play that has been accepted by the author. Miss Owens clearly approves of O'Horgan and has written additional dialogue for the film. (The screenplay itself is by Joseph Stefano.) But I would still like to see a production of *Futz* concerned more with imagination than fancy, in which powers were concentrated on the play instead of on trying to "liberate" the actors. (And one in which Futz is an old farmer, not a goodlooking young man.)

In the film O'Horgan has tried to apply similar methods of liberation to cinematic method. Before and under the titles we see a performance of a *Futz* cantata in a European concert hall that quickly turns into bedlam – a strained symbol on the theme of disordering the formal. In the body of the picture O'Horgan moves back and forth between reality and a performance of the play on a bare outdoor platform in the country: a scene in an imaginary farmyard cuts to a real farmyard, then back to the platform and so on. There is a storm of editing and camera effects: cross-fades, superimpositions, negatives in various tints, subliminal flashes. A group-grope of the whole company, naked and greased, is seen under a close-up of a man describing sex. But O'Horgan's effort is always seen as just that, an effort. The film, well photographed in northern California farmland by Vilmos Zsigmond, locates the action in too specific a place. Every abstraction that Miss Owens made is now burdened with real trees and fields and mud; with explication. Every stroke of O'Horgan's to externalize repressions (lots of mouths and tongues) now occurs in villages and farms where people simply don't behave that way – in public, anyway. There is only one moment when the film improves on the stage production. At the LaMama Theater it seemed a rank "interpretation" to have Oscar's mother, who visits him in jail, played by an attractive blonde of his own age. Here, early in the jail scene, there is a brief flash of an old woman in the mother's clothes, which makes clear that crazy Oscar is seeing his wrinkled old mother as a sexy girl.

Oscar is played in vivid mad colors by

(Continued on page 32)

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Reed Whittemore on the news

Mass Media in a Free Society edited by Warren Agee

(Univ. of Kansas Press; $5.00)

Mass Media in the Soviet Union by Mark Hopkins

(Pegasus; $8.95)

Three well-known journalists, a CBS vice-president, a producer of TV commercials and a film critic have collaborated with Dean Agee of the William Allen White School of Journalism of Lawrence, Kansas in producing one of the year's lesser books. Why they did this is not clear; there is no shortage of lesser books. I imagine that the cause was the occasion, a conference at the Dean's school about the general state of the media. Such conferences have a way of producing feathers.

Ben H. Bagdikian leads off by observing that the press has been weak on judgment, strong on regurgitation. His chief proposal is for a "new form in American journalism" in which "solutions to leading problems" are regularly presented "by thoughtful men outside of journalism." Bill H. Moyers makes jokes about press-government relations, and then proposes that our democracy "thrive upon conflict between press and government without being consumed by it" Carl T. Rowan sees the media's responsibility, in the major issues of war and race, as being obligation to report strife honestly but with hope (since hope is what we need if we are not to be full of hopelessness). And Theodore Koop, being from CBS, would like to revise the equal time law, and sees a marvelous international future for TV if only it is properly managed – i.e., not managed by the FTC. The fifth contributor, Stan Freberg, wants some funnier TV commercials.

There is left only Bosley Crowther. As a critic rather than representative of the film medium he has a wholly different relationship to his subject than do the other contributors. He is accordingly more critical, though miscellaneously so. The movies are mindless – "their makers give you what you think you want" – and their craven accommodation to audience response has meant that "they have failed to present us and pervade us with realization of our true selves and of the world in which we live."

All these papers are of course lofty stuff, and perhaps out there in Kansas after they had been delivered the authors further enhanced the program by talking *with* each other. Unfortunately the come-lately reader is left with papers that are neither connected with each other nor with the book's title.

Dean Agee writes an introduction to the collection. He would have been wiser had he called the conference to order first. Media people need to be called to order anyway – at least that is the thesis of many non-media people including a number of congressmen. Sporadic efforts have been made in recent years to call them to order by setting up a supervisory agency for the media. I think particularly of a proposal, still simmering, by the Center for Democratic Studies for a non-political commission. The specter of censorship, however, always scares professionals away – that, or the specter of interminable conferences *about* censorship.

Conferences are boring. The proceedings of an impartial commission would doubtless not only be boring but inconclusive. Practical working journalists have a natural antipathy to such events, and I suspect that now, with TV under scrutiny on the Hill, they wish that newspapers had never been classified as a mass medium. Let TV be it, and controlled, and let the papers be. So, though the subject in Kansas, "Mass Media in a Free Society" seemed specifically pointed at problems of control and conditioning, only the TV people really coped with it, and they did so superficially. The writer of TV commercials mentioned brainwashing techniques in TV commercials, but only to distinguish the bad commercials from his own. The CBS vice president, Mr. Koop, made a provocative remark - that during civil disturbances the appearances of extremists like Stokely Carmichael should be minimal because "the danger of further incitement is too great" – but then he dropped the provocation and nobody picked it up. Where, when and by whom "appearances" should be restricted could have been fine preliminary questions for a conference, but they were not asked.

Another difficulty in Kansas, beyond the boredom of conferences and the dangers of discussing delicate subjects, was that only professionals were there. This limitation has plagued other highbrow media confabs; characteristically the professionals seem to think themselves the only ones knowledgeable enough to discuss the profession's troubles. Ben Bagdikian proposed experts, but he naturally didn't mention experts to help out the journalists with journalism. Who could *they* be?

Well, how about a Skinnerian? Psychologists are terrible people, I realize, but they do profess to know something about freedom and control. (So do philosophers, literary people and the like, but I'll omit them here.) I submit that what Kansas needed was an outrageously Skinnerian psychologist to bug the ghost of William Allen White, presiding. The ideals of old fashioned liberal journalism remain worthy of respect and defense, but they are not to be defended by silence when increasingly Pavlov and Company are presiding, and the very phrase, "mass media in a free society," is becoming a contradiction.

The news we get about Russian news through our normal channels is mostly negative. We are told of what the Russian people are not told, and of government action against writers who speak against government. Mark W. Hopkins' thorough, sympathetic and tedious study of the Soviet press – with a bit about radio and TV too – is more positive. It fully characterizes what is and what is not fit to print over there; and it is a sound, historically oriented account of the complexities of the press's relations with Party and public.

The book is also a help in viewing the American condition, since much of it is comparative. Perhaps Hopkins should replace my Skinnerian in Kansas – he or a genuine Russian – to stir the participants from their professional ruts. Hopkins inevitably has an American view, but he holds it well in check. He observes, for example, that a study by the University of Missouri's school of

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journalism (which is not far from Kansas) "tried to measure press freedom in most of the world's nations according to 23 criteria," of which eleven were concerned with government regulations and control, and only two assessed economic restrictions private or public. Hopkins points out that a Soviet study would have reversed these proportions. Another Kansas conference could well begin there, or with the related issue of how the press may meet the demands and needs of that slippery entity, the public. The Soviet dream has the Party always as the representative of the public, and the press as the Party's benevolent agent. The American dream has the press serving the public directly, and opposing the elected government (said Moyers in Kansas: "the press and the government . . . are adversaries"). We have been overdrilled in the defects of the Russian dream, while the inconsistencies in our own (who elected the press, for example) tend to go unexamined, largely because we are used to them and nobody who is not used to them calls them to our attention. Here is where the services of intelligent alien observers (such as we all imagine ourselves to be on the Soviet press) might be called on. DeToqueville, thou shouldst be in conferences with us at this hour.

Edward T. Chase: Delectable Novel

The French Lieutenant's Woman by John Fowles

(Little, Brown; $7.95)

John Fowles' new book, already a success in England, hovers in the wings here, a main selection of a major book club, a vast first printing by its publisher and outsize advertising plans. Yet it is set in the England of 1867 and ostensibly written in the mode of the classic Victorian novel.

Fowles keeps a diary as he writes his books, items from which he published in a disarming *Harper's* article in 1968. One entry reads: "I woke in the small hours and the book tormented me. . . . Sentences from vitriolic reviews floated through my mind, 'a clumsy pastiche of Hardy,' 'pretentious imitation of an inimitable genre,' 'pointless exploration of an already overexplored age,' and so on and so on."

But on October 27, 1967 he wrote: "I finished the first draft, which was begun January 25. It is about 140,000 words long, and exactly as I imagined it: perfect, flawless, a lovely novel. But that, alas, is indeed only how I imagine it." It *is* a lovely novel, at once an absorbingly dramatic love story, a revelation of Victorian mores from an urbane twentieth century perspective, and a virtuoso stylisic performance. Fowles manages to encompass sophisticated commentary about the novel form with historical and philosophical insights, all so dextrously handled as to scarcely impede the narrative. At one playful point he thrusts his own self into the story: he is the forbidding bearded stranger (see jacket picture) who occupies the same railroad train compartment as the protagonist. There he can study his man close-up, with all the God-like omniscience of the conventional 19th century novelist.

As for the story, it is the tale of wealthy young gentleman Charles Smithson's obsession with the mysterious beauteous Sarah Woodruff, an educated, déclassé farmer's daughter, pitiable in her isolation after her abandonment by a French naval lieutenant. Charles breaks off his engagement with the adorable and adoring heiress Ernestina Freeman after several innocent if compulsive woodland trysts

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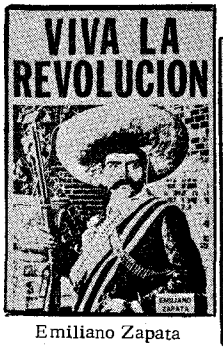

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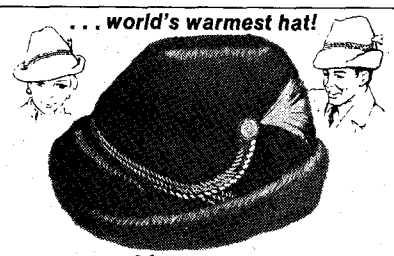
with Sarah that lead in time to an explosive 90 second copulation, rendered in specifics unexpressed in Jane Austen's day. In consequence Charles is outlawed from society by means of his forced written confession, devilishly engineered by Ernestina's infuriated father. Charles becomes self-exiled from England, Sarah disappears for two years, emerges at book's end rediscovered by the returned Charles and is seen now to be an emancipated figure in the bohemian household of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the pre-Raphelite poet-painter.

There are beguiling subsidiary plots and a series of patently cinematic set scenes. Fowles has written of himself: "I saw my first film when I was six; I've seen an average – and discounting television – of a film a week ever since: let's say some two and a half thousand films up to now. How can so frequently repeated an experience not have indelibly stamped itself on the *mode* of imagination?"

But you must not wait for the movie. *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is serious, brilliant social analysis. Fowles has immersed himself in Victorian study (he is indebted especially to E. Royston Pike's *Human Documents of the Victorian Golden Age*). Every chapter heading is replete with as many as three apposite epigraphs, from Darwin, Tennyson, Marx, Newman, Arnold, etc., that curiously enrich the reader's journey. His own asides endow the story with a portentous (in the best sense of the word) quality that heightens suspense. What unfolds in *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is nothing less than a revelation of the Victorian period's disintegration and the onset of the modern age. Sarah Woodruff's transformation, the most significant single element in the book, is from total servitude and dependence to ultimate self-knowledge and mastery. Charles, for all his cultural sophistication, including genuine enlightenment from scientific studies, is seen in contrast to stumble toward the twentieth century, liberated at last from Victorian rigidities but a pre-Freudian semi-cripple nonetheless.

Fowles' originality was established by his first novel, *The Collector* and by *The Magus*. It is certified here in what is a major growth beyond both these books. This is not quite the experimentation of Coover, Gass, Barth or the indulgence of genius of Nabakov. He shares with these writers imagination and technical virtuosity, but Fowles exploits more conventional means. One is not denied incidental pleasures of a traditional kind: full uninhibited use of the English language, clever dialogue, malicious caricaturing, seductive romanticism including nature descriptions to rival Hardy, the delectable experience of communing with a first-rate, quick, yet reflective mind.

A flawless book? No. Fowles is compulsively didactic, so that at times one would wish that the novel were allowed to speak for itself, no explications needed. Nor when all is said and done can one say Victorianism is unmasked in some new way. There is an inconclusiveness about the book (two alternative endings offered the reader). But Fowles has nonetheless brought off a miracle of sorts.



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Herbert L. Packer: Revolving-Door Millenium

Our Criminal Society by Edwin M. Schur

(Prentice-Hall; $6.95; paper, $2.95)

Mr. Schur, although trained as a lawyer, is a sociologist interested in problems of deviance. He does not advertise his legal background; as this book shows, he is right to consider himself a sociologist specializing in criminology. His book is a standard criminological work, with many of the strengths and some of the weaknesses that one might expect to find in an appraisal written by a sociologist.

His introduction speaks of the need for a calm appraisal of our attitude toward crime. His principal touchstones are the "sociological literature" on the subject and the Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. His principal bugbear is "the psychiatric orientation," a bugbear which I share.

Mr. Schur does a nice job of demolishing the "crime is illness" theory, if it can be called theory. He is also very persuasive in discounting much of the rhetoric about "organized crime." I

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wonder, though, what keeps him from criticizing sociologists who help to build and maintain the image of the Mafia as a kind of monolith of crime. He is remarkably deferential to Donald Cressey, as an elder statesman of criminology. Still, one would like to know what Schur thinks of that odd performance, Cressey's *Theft of a Nation*, which mythologizes the Mafia. As for me, I'll take my stand with Murray Kempton on the naivete of that book.

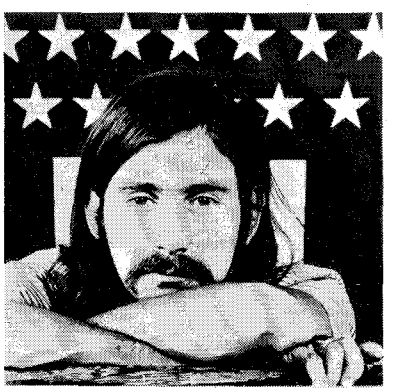
Mr. Schur is right on target in his chapter on "Unnecessary Crimes: The Perils of Overlegislating." Narcotics and homosexuality are but two of the examples that he cites in arguing that we have reached too far. He seems much less sure-footed in arguing in his chapter on "'Respectable' Crime" that false advertising, etc., offers a good field for extending the reach of criminal sanction. Ralph Nader to the contrary notwithstanding, multiplying crimes in the economic sphere may not be the best use of whatever legislative energy we can work up in this area. As I have argued elsewhere:

> Given the difficulty of attributing guilt to individuals for corporate crime and the rather ineffective sanctions available against the corporation itself, one may well ask whether the present degree of reliance on the criminal sanction in the field of economic regulation may not be misplaced. Here again the question of alternatives presents itself, as it must always do in any examination of the usefulness of the criminal sanction. Where economic gain is the motive for the infraction and where the ability to impose significant economic deprivation on the offender exists, it may well be questioned whether the criminal sanction's contribution offers value equivalent to cost. To impose criminal standards of procedure and criminal criteria of proof for the end result of nothing more than a financial exaction may well be to pay a higher social cost than is necessary. (*The Limits of the Criminal Sanction*, 1968. 361-62)

Mr. Schur loses his cool, to say nothing of his "calm appraisal," when he declares that the real crimes of American society are as follows: (1) America is a criminal society because it is an unequal society; (2) America is a criminal society by virtue of its involvement in mass violence abroad; (3) America is a criminal society because of certain emphases in our cultural values that help generate crime; (4) America is a criminal society because it has created much "unnecessary" crime; (5) America is a criminal society precisely because it has adopted an unseeing and unworkable orientation to crime problems. He draws from these arguments "the conclusion that nothing less than *a comprehensive restructuring of American society* and of our system of criminal law can be expected to significantly alter our crime situation" (emphasis added).

God knows that American society needs restructuring. But Schur's rhetoric loses all contact with the meaning of "crime" and "criminal," the same charge that he levels against the Ronald Reagans of our society. His bill of particulars, just recited, fails, except as to items (4) and (5), which suffer only from the exaggeration of the label "criminal" as a description of our society. Crime, as Mr. Schur pointed out early, means nothing more than "behavior that violates the criminal law." For him then to treat the crime problem as if it could only be defined by the problem of poverty or of our Vietnam policy or of the American proclivity

I Am Curious (Greenbaum)



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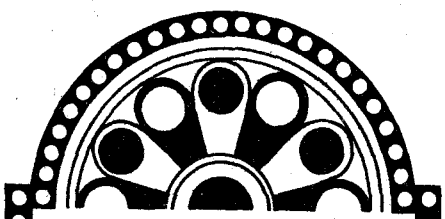

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for making a buck is simply an unfortunate lapse into knee-jerk liberalism. I have nothing against knee-jerk liberalism, aside from its tendency to foul up any argument into which it is injected. If Mr. Schur had only remembered the meaning of "criminal," he might have succeeded in his "calm appraisal."

Mr. Schur's conclusion strikes me as millennial. He asserts that "respect for law and order will not be *restored* until respect for the nature of our society is *restored*" (emphasis added). Historically, this conclusion is suspect: at what moment in American history has respect for law and order existed? The ante-bellum South? the Civil War? the settlement of the frontier? the repression of the labor movement? the era of Prohibition? the Joe McCarthy era? American society has always been divided. Mr. Schur seems to be seeking an unusual sort of millennium: one is tempted to call it the theory of the "revolving door millennium."

A Communication

Schools and the Union

In one of his recent articles on the New York schools, Mr. Joseph Featherstone notes that, "Part of the confusion here stems from the fact that New York is a literary and publishing center. People here *write*. . . ." Certainly a good deal of the writing that has appeared on the subject has contributed to the confusion; unfortunately, Mr. Featherstone's own articles belong to this category.

Certainly he is right in pointing out that the drive for community control is the result of frustrations not confined to the poor and the ethnic minorities, and that it is one factor in the middle-class flight to the suburbs. And he is equally correct in noting that these same suburbs supremely "illustrate the extent to which American life is organized in mass national units" and therefore not amenable to the local control which existed in a simpler era.

He is also right in noting that the attack launched by some minority spokesmen against "rigid professional structures" is likely to be modified substantially when they become part of those same structures, a process which is taking place rather more rapidly than he seems to realize. He slightly misstates the issue when he says that, "A few teachers, doctors, lawyers and others . . . seriously working to define a new professionalism – one that would serve clients instead of the profession." The sort of professionalism that is needed is one that serves the client *and* the profession, for unless it does the latter it cannot do the former in any real sense. The United Federation of Teachers and its parent organization, the American Federation of Teachers, have long been in the forefront of the effort to develop just such a professionalism. It was this which led the UFT to staff the Freedom Schools of Virginia and Mississippi, to encourage and assist the New York City Board of Education to develop a program for the recruitment and training of minority group teachers not only from New York City but from all parts of the country, and to propose a Parent Review Board and the development of standards of accountability in order to raise the level of teaching in the city. Indeed, the UFT has since its formation been deeply concerned with the quality of education, and has devoted a major effort to devising new and better pedagogical techniques. In its most recent contract it voluntarily sacrificed the chance to win substantial additional economic gains in order to secure a clause providing for the expansion of the More Effective Schools program; this program, which the UFT pioneered, has had notable success in underprivileged areas.

In his discussion of the decentralization bill passed by the 1969 Legislature, however, Mr. Featherstone is seriously in error both as to the contents of the law itself and the political circumstances surrounding its passage. Certainly the new law is not ideal; as Mr.

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Featherstone himself says, "On any omnibus bill dealing with a controversial subject, there is room for honest differences of opinion." There are many points on which the UFT would have preferred provisions other than those embodied in the bill as it finally passed. But it is a law which, applied with good will and intelligence, can serve as the basis for educational progress with increased parent participation and a substantial measure of local control. That it is why it was passed with the support of both the UFT and, though one would never guess it from Mr. Featherstone, most of the black and Puerto Rican members of the legislature.

For the first time in the history of the city, both central and community boards of education will be elected by and responsible to the people. The differing bases for the elections of central and community boards are the result of compromises between the demands of various groups – just as similar compromises in the Constitutional Convention gave us a Senate and a House of Representatives. The method of election of the central board would have been somewhat different if a few legislators from upper middle-class white districts (led by Jerome Kretchmer, a "reformer" from Manhattan's Upper West Side) had not succeeded in disrupting negotiations looking to a bill sponsored jointly by the UFT and black and Puerto Rican legislators. The bill tentatively agreed on by the UFT and minority legislators, would also have provided greater financial autonomy for the community school districts. But when that agreement broke down, the Governor's staff drafted its own bill, and in doing so made some concessions to right-wing groups; one of these was the 'election' of Board of Education members on a borough rather than city-wide basis.

As for the method of election of community boards of education, the Hare system of proportional representation is complicated for the election authorities, but extremely simple for the voter. Of the eight pages of description to which Mr. Featherstone refers, only about 120 words are for the voter; the rest is for the Board of Elections. And it has the special virtue of giving the unorganized voter a chance to make his influence felt directly, rather than through a political machine. No other method of voting has shown itself so

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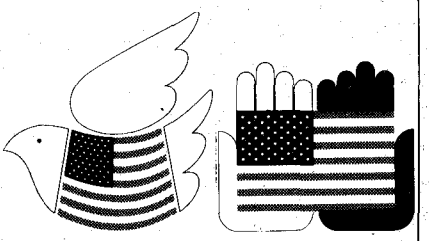

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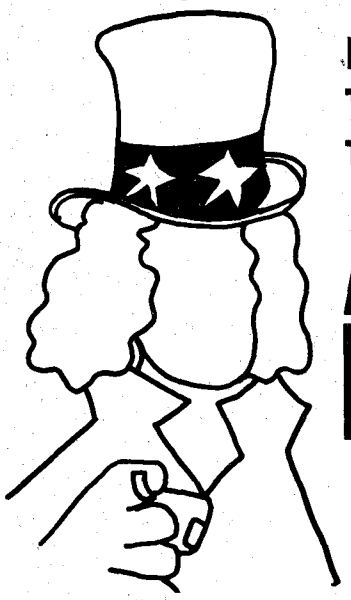

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favorable to the representation of minorities, whether political or ethnic. It was just because proportional representation was *not* an instrument that could be easily manipulated by old-line political organizations that the latter fought to abolish it in the case of the New York City Council. And its inclusion in the decentralization bill was strongly urged by Puerto Ricans who felt that their community might otherwise emerge with no representation on the community boards.

On the question of appointive procedures, the new law introduces several important changes. Examinations for supervisory positions are now to be qualifying rather than competitive; this means that local boards will be able to appoint any persons they wish as supervisors, so long as the appointees have met the minimum standards established by the state and city. While teaching lists will continue to be competitive, community boards will have the right to disregard them in the case of schools scoring in the lowest 40 percent on a city-wide reading test. For such schools they will, if they wish, be able to appoint teachers who meet the basic educational requirements and have passed the National Teachers Examination instead of a regular Board of Examiners examination. And another provision requires the city to "cause the National Teachers Examination to be offered at reasonable intervals . . . in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

Even under the present system, it should be noted, the representation of minorities in the teaching staff is not by any means as low as Mr. Featherstone suggests. The 10 or 12 percent of black teachers in the schools should be compared not with the 52 percent of black and Puerto Rican pupils, but with the percentage of black adults in the city, which is about a sixth. For it is from adults, not children of school age, that teachers are recruited. If, in addition, one takes into account the fact that the percentage of college graduates in the black population is far less than in the white population, it is clear that the percentage of black teachers in New York is considerably higher than the percentage of black eligibles. A civil service-type hiring system has, here as elsewhere, helped rather than hindered the employment of minority groups. This does not mean that we do not need and should not

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have many more minority group teachers. UFT, which negotiated a recruitment fund in its last contract, is at present working with the Board of Education on recruitment of black and Puerto Rican teachers.

The relatively low percentage of supervisors who come from minorities is the result of the lag between entrance into any field and promotion to its upper reaches; it is reasonable to expect that the situation in this respect will change rather rapidly. (A similar situation existed forty years ago when Jewish students were the largest single group in the public schools, Jewish teachers were a small minority, and Jewish supervisors were almost nonexistent.) The new provisions in the decentralization law may hasten the pace of change, but it could have been expected to occur even without them.

To be sure, the provisions of the law are deeply disturbing to some groups – to those who hoped to parlay small but tightly-organized and well-financed minorities into control of the schools, to those who hoped to use that control as an instrument for ulterior political ends, to those who in local situations have already used it to divert funds from education to patronage. They may be expected to seek again, as they have in the past, to impose the will of an infinitesimal minority on an overwhelming majority by strategies of disruption. But I do not think they will succeed. For the responsible advocates of community control recognize that the law opens the way to a large part of what they want, and many of them are at present cooperating with the UFT in working out a program for its realization.

Not all, or even most, of the problems of the New York schools are solved by the new law. But it offers a framework within which substantial progress can be made: what is needed is intelligence and good will in utilizing the opportunities that it offers. Even under the best of circumstances, however, the problem of the schools can never be altogether solved in terms of the schools alone. For, in Mr. Featherstone's words, "the schools mirror the society. Its political failures have generated a crisis that schools can never solve."

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Correspondence

Minority Lawyers

Sirs:

I noted with interest not only the Ralph Nader article, but the further article that appeared in your October 25 issue entitled "Tithing at the Bar." May I comment?

First of all, lawyers today, both young and old, from prestigious law firms or those doing work for Legal Aid Societies are over their heads in work. Due to the complexities in the law today, there is a great shortage of lawyers and those lawyers who are practicing are generally *over*worked.

I have never known of any lawyer who has turned down a situation where it is necessary for the indigent to be represented, either in a criminal or non-criminal matter. The best-trained lawyers in the country have for years handled criminal cases without receiving any fee. Moreover, it is simply unheard of for a lawyer to turn down a request from a federal judge to represent an indigent person who has been accused of a crime.

Mr. Asher (as well as Mr. Nader) has not focused on the real problem: shortage of lawyers in general and the tremendous shortage of lawyers from minority groups – black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, American Indian, etc. This problem cannot be solved until a legal education can be made available to representatives of minority groups without cost to them or at minimal cost. At the present time, a student working on a Ph.D. in mathematics, the social sciences, or what have you, will receive a stipend from the university ranging up to $10,000 per year to study his specialty, make reports to the university, write dissertations, etc. No such grants are available for the study of law. There are some scholarships available, but most of these are for very bright students and do not cover the full cost of attending law school, let alone cover the cost of living, including some of the luxuries.

Accordingly, not many people from minority groups attend law school. A few years ago, out of almost 40,000 law students in the United States there were less than 400 Negroes and most of these were at Howard University Law School. At the present time, after great effort on the part of the law schools, alumni associations and the federal government, there are about three times as many black students in law school, but this is still a very small percentage indeed.

We have done something about this in Ohio. We have formed The Ohio Law Opportunity Fund for the purpose of seeing to it that Ohio residents from minority groups may attend law school anywhere in the United States and to see to it that anyone from anywhere in the United States may attend any one of the law schools within the state of Ohio. The funds for these lofty purposes are being donated exclusively by members of the Bar in the state of Ohio and are not being raised through any general solicitation. While we are just getting started, the response from Ohio lawyers has been extremely favorable.

Robert C. Coplan
Cleveland, Ohio

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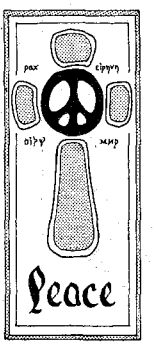

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Israeli Motives

Sirs:

There are certain anomalies in the position of Israel with respect to Egypt, as indicated in Philip Ben's article of October 4, 1969. Mr. Ben describes the manner in which Israel is developing the oil resources captured from Egypt in the 1967 war. He then adds: "Officially, Israel's 'non-negotiable' demands concern the status of Jerusalem, the Golam Heights and a defense line along the Jordan River. But in fact, Israel has no intention of giving up the Suez Gulf oilfields."

Israel's position has been that she commenced military contact in the 1967 war in defense against an impending Arab attack. Israel's present position is that she is amenable to direct negotiations – with her national integrity as the only goal – and only Arab intransigence about direct negotiation prevents a peace settlement.

If Mr. Ben's statement concerning Israel's oil interest is correct – and his articles on the Mideast have appeared to be strongly in favor of Israel – then the validity of Israel's stated position becomes questionable. Moreover, the indication that Israel reaped rich sources of wealth and land in the 1967 war, which Israel is unwilling to give up, suggests a reinterpretation of the causes of the war, and the conditions of present conflict in the Mideast. Moreover, the situation Ben describes indicates that one of the bases of the Arab's antipathy to Israel – that is, the latter's alleged expansionist character – may not be so unreasonable.

Mr. Ben's article also indicates that liberals have tended to withdraw support from Israel since the six day war. The suggestion that Israel has economic and social motives in its actions, not solely those of self-defense, provide justification for that withdrawal.

Arthur W. Staats
University of Hawaii

Kauffmann, *from page 21*

Seth Allen. Beth Porter is swinishly lubricious as the neighborhood slut. Peter Craig is too good as the sheriff, too straight in a fanciful film.

Duet for Cannibals was written and directed by Susan Sontag and on that ground, though not much else, demands comment. It tells of an encounter between a young, unmarried Stockholm couple and an older, married couple. The husband is a well-known German Communist activist and teacher, the wife is Italian. The older couple seek to "devour" the younger, not only by utilizing them sexually but by trying to engulf their psyches with a series of tricks. The tricks pile on so thick that it is difficult to know which end is up, in bed or elsewhere, but this confusion seems intended as evocative ambiguity.

The film is a parallel of Miss Sontag's two novels. We are aware that she is versed in the "literature" of the field. We get a string of symbols so blatant that their very blatancy is presumably supposed to make them fresh again: wigs, beards, bandages on eyes, fake deaths, snips of Wagner on the soundtrack. (Nineteenth-century romanticism in music, as well as in politics, pursuing the New Left, I daresay.) But, as with Miss Sontag's novels, she simply does not convince us of the need for the work to exist. After we have added up the totals of aesthetic apparatus, there is still no affective center in the work. It has no *result* in us (save tedium). I went with some admiration that she had made a picture; I left with some irritation because her literary prestige had got her a chance that people with film talent cannot easily get.

Anyway, to praise Miss Sontag for having made a film at all is really not much more than to praise her for having actually written novels. Films are technically more complicated, but filmmakers can have a lot of technical help and advice – and refuge. As for the Swedish language, she herself has told us that there was no problem because so many Swedes are bilingual. (She wrote her own English subtitles.) At first I was surprised that, for a critic so concerned with the "visual" approach to film, Miss Sontag shows little that is individual or striking in her ability to see; but then I remembered that her critical essays on the importance of style are themselves written in generally lamentable style.

I liked one sequence. The young couple are in a restaurant, with an obstreperous demented tramp at a nearby table. The manager throws the tramp out, and he lurks outside to harass the young couple in the street. I got a vivid feeling of the random craziness that lies in wait to murder any of us these days, figuratively or otherwise. But these were the only vital moments for me in an otherwise tedious and affected construct.

Coming Apart is awful, but it has some points of generic interest. First, it is part of the price we have to pay for some new freedoms in film. I don't mean that it is obvious pornography, squeezing in through a door opened by artists. It is something worse: fake seriousness, with the high-toned, college-trained, heavy breathing of the New Superficial, the self-indulgence that quotes Pascal and writhes in *Angst* but is not much more than exploitation with existential plumage. Of that school (which has its counterpart in fiction) *Coming Apart* is a ripe and repellent example.

Second, there is some small technical interest. The film is supposed to have been made by its protagonist, who has concealed a camera in his living-room. There are not much more than three camera set-ups in the whole thing, mostly focussed on a big sofa with a large wall-mirror behind it. We see people on the sofa and also when they leave it. The idea of a camera hidden by the protagonist has been used to much better purpose in a film made a couple of years ago, as yet unreleased, *David Holzman's Diary* by Jim McBride. But its use in *Coming Apart*, fixed and facing that mirror, does create a sense of space-in-confinement.

The hero is a psychoanalyst, married. This room is neither his home nor his office but a pad to which he brings girls. (His wife also appears.) We are supposed to believe that it is the place where he disintegrates psychically, although this is a highly arbitrary development, intended to give depth to what is a series of sketches about making out with variously kooky girls. The psychic penetration and the spiritual agony are at about the level of Warhol's *The Chelsea Girls* – skin-deep.

There is one fairly funny sequence with a masochistic girl whose eagerness to be burned with cigarettes only embarrasses the hero. He is played by Rip Torn, who is gentle and likable throughout. The film was written and directed by Milton Moses Ginsberg who has just sufficient cleverness, in several serious ways, to have a successful future ahead of him.

COMING: Bruce Eggler on Huey Long

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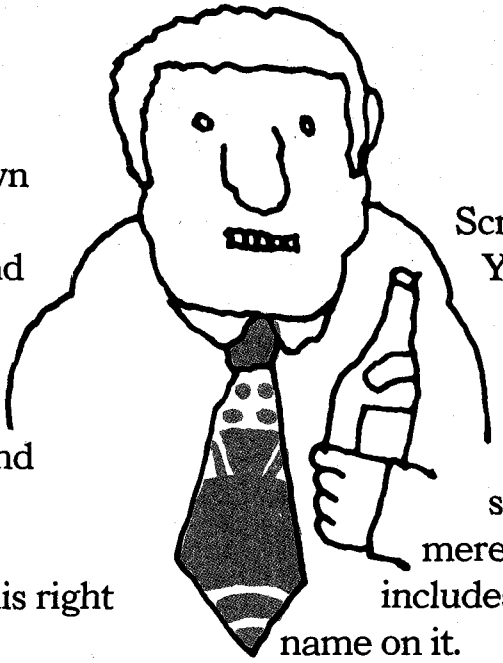

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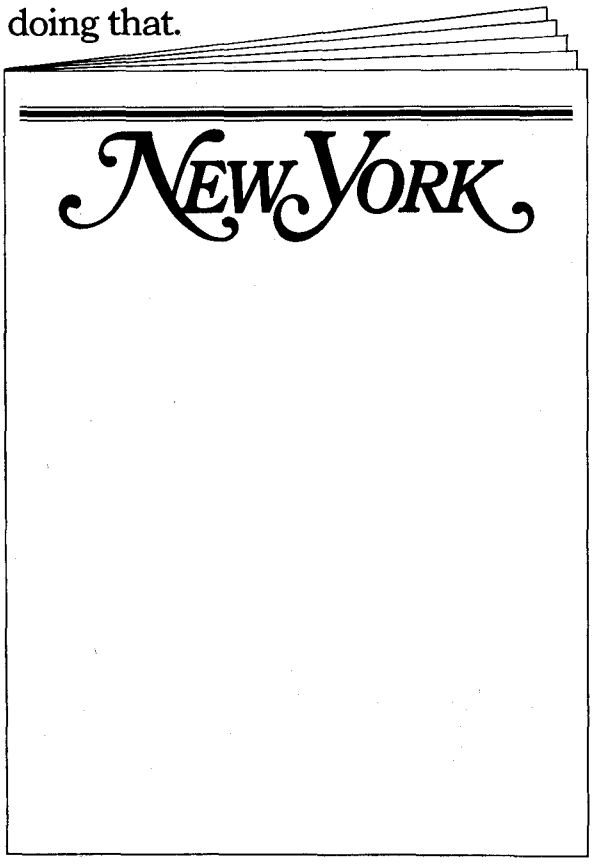

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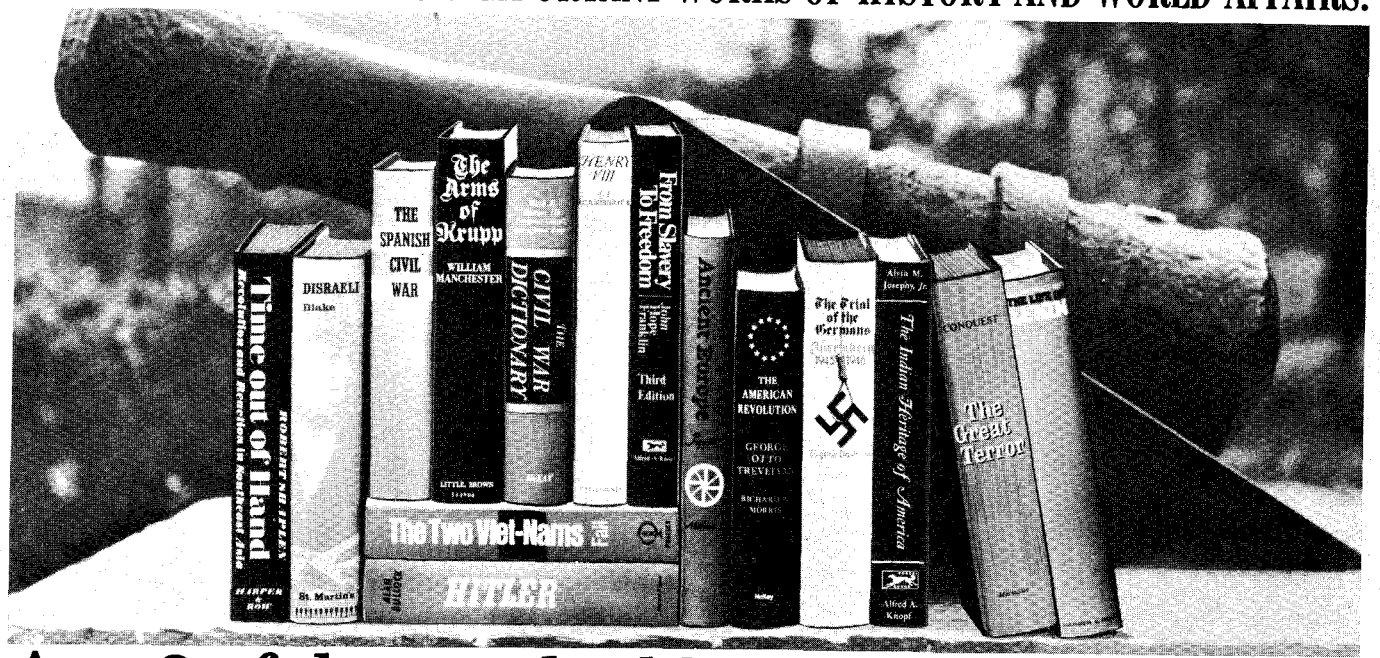

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